

## Message Text

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DRAFTED BY EUR/WE:REBARBOUR:VE

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EUR/WE:AMBASSADOR CARLUCCI

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S/S - MR. ORTIZ

S - MR. BREMER

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY LISBON IMMEDIATE

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NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PO

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH COSTA GOMES

FOR AMBASSADOR

ON YOUR RETURN TO LISBON YOU SHOULD SEEK AN EARLY APPOINTMENT WITH COSTA GOMES AND TELL HIM YOU HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED BY THE SECRETARY TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS SUMMARIZING U.S. POLICY AND ATTITUDES TOWARD PORTUGAL.

1. THE UNITED STATES IS NOT HOSTILE TO PORTUGAL. TIES BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES ARE OLD AND DEEP AND ARE BASED ON FAR MORE THAN POLITICS. THIS PERMITS, INDEED COMPELS, US TO SPEAK FRANKLY -- AS OTHER FRIENDS OF PORTUGAL HAVE DONE.

2. NOR ARE WE HOSTILE TOWARD THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION. OUR PROMPT RECOGNITION OF THE FIRST PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, OUR SUPPORT FOR DECOLONIZATION, AND OUR EARLY OFFERS OF  
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ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE

ORIGINAL OBJECTIVES OF THE AFM WERE PRINCIPLES WHICH WE  
ENDORSED.

3. HOWEVER, THE EVENTS OF THE LAST FEW MONTHS INDICATE  
THAT THE ORIGINAL GOALS OF THE AFM ARE BEING CORRUPTED BY  
THOSE WHO SEEK TO EXPLOIT IT FOR PERSONAL OR POLITICAL ENDS.

YOUR OWN RECENT SPEECHES ABOUT THE REVOLUTION INDICATE  
THAT YOU SHARE THE CONCERN OF OTHERS ON THIS POINT.

4. THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAVE READ  
THE RECENT ANALYSIS OF THE PORTUGUESE SITUATION PUT OUT BY  
A GROUP OF PORTUGUESE MILITARY OFFICERS. YOU CONFIRMED THAT  
THAT WAS AN ACCURATE DESCRIPTION OF THE SITUATION.

5. THIS ANALYSIS SEES PORTUGAL TODAY IN THE HANDS OF A  
NARROWLY-BASED, REPRESSIVE GROUP ENJOYING THE SUPPORT OF  
ONLY 20 PERCENT OF THE COUNTRY AND OPPOSED BY THE REMAIN-  
ING 80 PERCENT.

6. THROUGHOUT THE WESTERN COMMUNITY, THE QUESTION IS  
THEREFORE BEING ASKED, "IS PORTUGAL REALLY DESERVING OF  
OUR SUPPORT? OR IS THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT SEEKING  
WESTERN FINANCIAL AID TO CONSTRUCT A SOCIETY MODELED ALONG  
TOTALITARIAN COMMUNIST LINES?"

7. SOONER OR LATER, THESE SAME QUESTIONS MUST ALSO BE  
ASKED IN NATO, WHERE THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN PORTUGAL'S  
MEMBERSHIP IN THE ALLIANCE AND ITS COMMUNIST-INFLUENCED  
AND NARROWLY-BASED GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO BE FACED.

8. FOR ITS PART, THE UNITED STATES (PRACTICALLY ALONE  
AMONG PORTUGAL'S TRADITIONAL FRIENDS) HAS AN ACTIVE PROGRAM  
OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. THE PAST YEAR'S MISMANAGEMENT OF  
THE PORTUGUESE ECONOMY MAKES NECESSARY SUBSTANTIAL  
ECONOMIC HELP FROM ALL POSSIBLE SOURCES. BUT UNLESS  
PORTUGAL EMBARKS CLEARLY ON THE ROAD TO A DEMOCRATIC FORM  
OF GOVERNMENT, AND SETS FORTH A CLEAR PROGRAM TO IMPLEMENT  
THE ORIGINAL OBJECTIVE OF THE REVOLUTION, THE UNITED  
STATES WILL NOT BE ABLE TO JUSTIFY TO ITS OWN PEOPLE CON-  
TINUED -- MUST LESS EXPANDED -- SUPPORT FOR PORTUGAL OF  
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ANY KIND.

9. SUPPORT IN THE CONGRESS AND AMONG THE AMERICAN PEOPLE  
FOR GREATER ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO PORTUGAL  
WAS VERY HIGH FOLLOWING THE APRIL 25 ELECTIONS. NOW, AS  
IT IS WIDELY BELIEVED THAT PORTUGAL IS IN THE HANDS OF A  
DICTATORSHIP OF THE LEFT, THAT SUPPORT IS EVAPORATING.

10. NOTING THE OPINIONS COSTA GOMES HAS EXPRESSED IN PUBLIC AND IN PRIVATE, WE BELIEVE HE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT HIS DECISIONS CAN DETERMINE WHETHER PORTUGAL ACHIEVES ITS GOAL OF A PLURALISTIC, DEMOCRATIC KIND OF SOCIALISM, OR WHETHER IT WILL CONTINUE ALONG A PATH TOWARD DOCTRINAIRE TOTALITARIANISM. IN THE FORMER CASE, THE UNITED STATES AND PORTUGAL'S OTHER FRIENDS WOULD PROVIDE SYMPATHETIC ASSISTANCE. IN THE LATTER CASE, IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE

TO CONTINUE OUR COOPERATION. COSTA GOMES IS THE MAN WHO WILL DETERMINE WHICH IT WILL BE. END TALKING POINTS.

YOU WILL RECEIVE SEPARATE INSTRUCTIONS IN RESPONSE TO COSTA GOMES' APPEAL FOR ASSISTANCE REGARDING ANGOLA. KISSINGER

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